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THE

S P E E C H

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, EARL OF CLARE;

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS OF IRELAND,

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1798,

ON A MOTION MADE BY THE

EARL OF MOIRA,

Fitzgibbon (John)

Earl of Clare

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“ That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Lord
“ Lieutenant to state, that as Parliament had confided to His Excellency
“ extraordinary powers in order to support the Laws and defeat traitorous
“ Combinations in this Country, we feel it our duty—as those powers
“ have not produced the desired effect—to recommend the adoption of
“ such conciliatory measures as may allay apprehensions and discontent.”

[Printed by Authority.]

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1798.

[ONE SHILLING.]

THE
OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF THE

NAVY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY



TO THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
WASHINGTON
FROM THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
WASHINGTON
SUBJECT: [illegible]

[illegible]

RECEIVED

FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

WASHINGTON

THE numerous Applications for the **SPEECH** of the Right Honourable the **EARL OF CLARE**, induced the Publisher to print the earliest Copy that had then reached England. On Saturday, however, he received, from Ireland, the **SPEECH** at **FULL LENGTH PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY**; and he earnestly hopes, that the Purchasers of the **FIRST EDITION**, will not attribute to him any undue Motives, in now laying before the Public, this more faithful Transcript of one of the most interesting and important Speeches ever made in any Country.

MONDAY, March 5, 1798.

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Monday, May 3, 1798.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S

S P E E C H.

MY LORDS,

I REQUEST that the clerk may read to the House the report of a Secret Committee of your Lordships in the session of 1793; and I request the attention of the noble Earl to its contents, as possibly, from his absence from the kingdom, he may not be acquainted with it, and I have no doubt that it will go very far to explain the conduct of government and the circumstances of the present times.—
[The Report was then read.]

If the noble Earl has read the report of the last Session, as I have no doubt he has, I shall not trouble the House with it. My Lords, the subject now before you is one upon which there has been more misrepresentation than it is possible to conceive; and I am sorry to add, that the noble Earl's supposed expressions in another place, have made no small accession to the common stock. Under the authority of that noble Earl several misrepresentations have been propagated: One, that the people of this country

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had

had been insulted by declarations made in this and the other House of Parliament; that in the other House a Member had started up, and uninvited by the subject, given an interdict to the Catholic claims; that in this House another person had passed a sweeping condemnation upon the North of Ireland. As to what has or has not happened in the other House of Parliament, it would be highly improper for me or any other noble Lord to give any opinion on the subject; but of this I assure the noble Earl, that nothing has ever passed in this House which could warrant what has been said of one of its members; and yet the noble Earl has upon such a foundation passed a sweeping condemnation upon the government of Ireland.

Allow me, my Lords, with the most unfeigned respect for the military talents and estimable character of the noble Earl, to ask him upon what principle he has ventured to pass such a sweeping condemnation both in this House, of which he is a member, and in the British House of Lords? Upon what principle did he, in that British House of Lords, propose an address of a British House of Parliament, calling upon the Crown to interpose its paternal influence in a matter solely cognizable by an Irish Parliament, in the repealing of laws of Ireland of fundamental import to the Irish constitution? On what principle did that noble Earl state, that the feudal tyranny of the *corfeu* had been established in this country; that the horrible practices of the inquisition had been put in force; that the natives of this country had been put to the torture to force a confession of their own supposed crimes, or the guilt of their neighbours? Upon what principle he could have done these things, I confess myself ignorant; but I am sorry to observe, that these exaggerations have passed uncontroverted through every seditious newspaper of Great Britain and Ireland.

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It is, my Lords, too much the practice in these countries to drown truth and reason in noise and clamour. When America had most unhappily fallen into dissention with Great Britain, the opposition politicians, in order to carry their point against the minister, were very active in fomenting these dissentions; and the consequence was, that thwarted in his plans, and disconcerted by his opponents, the minister was indeed forced from power, but not until America had been lost in the struggle. The same politicians who played this game of embarrassment against Lord North have now turned—most graciously turned their designs toward this country, and thought fit to busy themselves for their own purposes in the affairs of Ireland; and, in furtherance of their own projects, to lend their protection to every motley faction which may start up to the public disturbance.

The noble Earl has fully disavowed the very heavy charge which he has been supposed to have made against the army employed in this kingdom; but he has at the same time imputed the treasonable system which has existed in this country to the erroneous conduct of the British cabinet, and proposes as the grand remedy for all the distractions of the country, a system, of what he has called conciliation.

What security can the noble Earl give us of the effects of such a system?—he prophesies that it will be successful—what pledge have we for the accomplishment of his presage?—does he reason from the past—the past is against him—if conciliation were a spell to allay clamour and discontent, in no place on the globe has it found so fair an experiment as in the kingdom of Ireland. I call upon the noble Earl to meet me upon this very ground; that from the year 1779, to this day, the system of the British Cabinet has been a system of conciliation to this country;

be quiet

and that no nation of Europe has, within that time, advanced to equal prosperity with the kingdom of Ireland. In the year 1779---the noble Earl was then engaged in the discharge of an honourable duty in another part of the globe: in that year, there were restraints upon the commerce of Ireland; Parliament addressed the Throne, and the British acts which operated to restrain Irish commerce were immediately repealed. And be it remembered, my Lords, that the very persons who now profess themselves to be the most forward advocates of Irish emancipation, who are now in the practice of making Irish grievances a subject of continual debate in the British Parliament; be it remembered, I say, that these very persons did, in 1779, express the most unqualified disapprobation of relaxing the restraints which affected our commerce; the very same men who are now the advocates of Irish traitors.

In a very short time after this concession, the voice of complaint was again heard; grievances were clamoured on every side; they were brought forward in Parliament by the leading patriots of the day, and a majority of the House of Commons had the presumption to resist their demands. Then, for the first time, was an appeal made from Parliament to the armed Majesty of the People; and every man who presumed to hesitate upon the subject in question, was denounced as an enemy to his country by this candid, impartial and august tribunal. The British Cabinet, however, took steps to concillate. The Duke of Portland called upon the country to state what its grievances were: after such a step, one would have hoped for some respite: the answer to his Address was settled by the Opposition Cabinet of this country, so that the leaders of the popular cause were the very persons who settled what measure of conciliation would gratify the country. That measure was restricted by them to a repeal of the
usurped

usurped claim of the British Parliament to bind Ireland by its acts, and a perpetual Mutiny Bill. The Duke of Portland promised for his Majesty, that he would assent to their desires. I am justified, my Lords, in saying that these grievances were brought forward by Opposition, as the only matters of which the country could complain; for your Lordships will find, not only that they were stated in an amendment moved to the address to the Throne, and agreed to by the House of Commons, but that in that amendment, Opposition undertook to point out all the grievances of the country, and pledged themselves that no future difficulty should arise between the two countries, and that for this pledge the House of Commons voted the enormous sum of 50,000*l.* to the Gentleman who had taken on him the office of finding out those grievances, as a reward for the final settlement of all dissensions. These concessions were received with unbounded applause, and their authors were the idols of the nation for about three weeks.

A gentleman, of great political sagacity, discovered, that it was not sufficient for Great Britain to repeal the act declaring her right to bind Ireland, but that a renunciation of the right itself was absolutely necessary; this became instantly the universal opinion, and the very men, who had three weeks before been the popular idols, were now the objects of obloquy and contempt, and exposed not only to insult but to personal danger; to such a pitch of violence did their political anger drive the people; at the same time, that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of one thousand, were utterly ignorant of the distinction between *simple repeal* and *renunciation*; and would, I will venture to say, have been as easily holloosed at Renunciation as they were at Simple Repeal, and have held it in as much abhorrence without knowing wherefore, had it answered the

purposes of those who set them on. One would have thought the experience of these facts, and the peril to which even their lives were at this time exposed, would have taught them the hazard of appealing to an armed multitude upon questions of abstract grievances. The Majesty of the People soon discovered another grievance; the army having been of necessity sent from this country, the Duke of Portland, from a principle of economy, raised four provincial regiments, officered by men, who were to derive no military rank from their situation, and to be no expence to the nation after the war; the name of *Fencibles*, was new in the country; a clamour was raised against the establishment, and the Duke of Portland became as much an object of abuse as any other man with whom they chose to be offended; had he raised four regiments of the line, and burthened the nation with an expensive half-pay list, nothing would have been said; but this act of economy was taken as a most outrageous insult upon an independent nation.

After the Duke had left this country, the Court of King's Bench in England, had decided upon a record removed into that Court before the act of repeal; it was my Lord Mansfield's duty, and I defy any lawyers to tell me how he could have avoided deciding upon a record which he found in his court; but this was a new grievance, it was a new proof of the insincerity of the British Cabinet---(though the cause was a private cause, unconnected with any political circumstance) and a clamour was raised accordingly against this British Cabinet---My Lord Buckingham, who was then Lord Lieutenant, and with whom, although I held no office, I had the honour of intimacy and communication; had the most perfect conviction of the sincerity of the British Cabinet towards Ireland, and laboured to convince this country that the opinion of its duplicity

duplicity was unfounded, and although he thought the faith of the British Parliament the best security, yet in order to remove all doubt, and to prevent British courts even by the construction of some of their commercial statutes from acting towards Ireland, he procured his brother, now Lord Grenville, to introduce an act into the British Parliament; which act was passed, renouncing in the fullest terms any right to legislate for this country.

Thus gratified in every wish, the patriots of Ireland might have suspended their labour, but this was not to happen; they then discovered that the Parliament which had procured all these advantages was in itself a grievance, and being armed, they thought that the most constitutional mode of redressing grievances was to assemble in a military Convention in the metropolis. Accordingly, in the year 1783, a military Convention did meet in this city, decked in all the forms of a Parliament, they had their speaker, their committees; a bill for the reform of the House of Commons was brought in, read, debated, read a second time, committed, reported and ordered to be engrossed, read a third time, passed, and sent by two of their number, who happened to have seats in the other House, to be registered by Parliament.

It was declared at this time, by the * minister of that day, now a leader of opposition, as his opinion, to my Lord Northington, *that the existence of Ireland as a member of the British Empire depended upon his dispersing that armed Convention.*

Parliament however vindicated its honour, the bill thus brought in upon the point of the bayonet was indeed offered to the House of Commons, but that House treated this act of contumacious folly with the contempt it de-

* Mr. Fox.

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served;

served; it was driven from their House, and its authors, ashamed of the act of folly they had committed, quietly slunk back to their different counties.

We were, in consequence of this firm conduct, quiet for about a year, before it was discovered that British manufactures by their superior quality and cheapness, obtained a preference in our markets; and instead of setting about to rival them in quality or cheapness, or at all considering that the balance of trade between this country and Great Britain was infinitely in our favour, it was immediately resolved to commence a war of prohibitory duties against England, although it was proved decisively that we had not wool enough in this kingdom to clothe one half of its inhabitants.

To conciliate and quiet these clamours, Great Britain in 1785, offered a fair and liberal commercial treaty to this country, by which she admitted us to her markets, and shared her immense capital with us, and opened her colonies to our trade, on condition that we should follow England in the laws which she had made for the regulation of those colonies, and that trade of which we were to participate. This however was represented as a new attack upon Irish independence, and so great was the outcry raised against it, that the Parliament of Ireland in their wisdom thought fit to reject the treaty, and duped by the silliest deception that ever was put upon any set of men, omitted an opportunity of consolidating the interests of the empire.

There was now some respite from political agitation for two or three years; and I appeal to every man who hears me, if the kingdom did not during that period advance in prosperity to a degree unexampled before.

In the year 1789 a most critical imperial question arose, in which the Parliament of Ireland, influenced by the same persons who had supported all those clamours, acted
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with the most marked hostility towards the British Parliament; and I cannot avoid saying, my Lords, that in my opinion, the rash, intemperate, and illegal conduct of that period on that question shook the Constitution to its foundation, and was the primary cause of all the disasters which we now witness and must ever deplore.

Upon the termination of that question, several of the oldest servants of the Crown refused to attend their duty, and offer their advice to Government. The Marquis of Buckingham, forgetting the insult which in their rage had been cast upon him, was anxious to conciliate and bring them back to their duty; he failed, and was in consequence obliged to dismiss them from the service of the Crown.

These persons, combining with the old demagogues, formed themselves into a political club for the redress of grievances in this country. They began by a manifesto, charging the British Government with a systematic design to destroy the liberty of Ireland, and they proclaimed that the basis of their institution was a resolution with their lives and fortunes to maintain the Constitution as settled by the Revolution of 1688, and re-asserted in Ireland in 1782.

In this manifesto they declare the specific measures of which they complained or which they desired; amongst the former was I think the making three Commissioners of the Revenue, and the separation of the Board of Accounts and Stamps; whether this was a very oppressive grievance I will not say, but sure am I, that if nine Commissioners and two Boards do attend their duty, they will find ample employment for all their members.

A Pension Bill was one of their objects; by this bill, if it had passed, an appropriated sum of 80,000*l.* per annum would have been given absolutely to the Crown, at a time
when

when no other part of the revenue was appropriated. By their Responsibility Bill there was to be an Executive Directory of five officers independent of the Crown to be established in this country.

These measures were repeatedly pressed upon Parliament, and they carried on their debates with so much coarse, intemperate, foul and useless invective, charging each other so familiarly with faction and corruption, that the people gave both sides credit—full credit for the villainous charges exhibited against each other; and with minds poisoned by the clamours of this political club, and inflamed by their calumnies into hatred of the British name, were ready to become the instruments of any political club which would incite them by the same kind of clamour, and accordingly were readily disposed to follow the pestilent society of United Irishmen; that pestilent association, which has reduced this country to a state of cannibal barbarism little short of the horrors of 1641, began its career as the Whig Club had done, by a manifesto, not a manifesto against any Administration, but against the British name, they proposed as their remedy of grievances an union of Irishmen of all descriptions; not to counteract the existing Minister, to favour the Administration of the Duke of Portland, of my Lord Lansdowne, of Mr. Fox, or of the Noble Earl himself, if he should get into power, but to rouse up the indignation of this country against the British connexion and British power under any shape which it might possibly assume. Does the Noble Earl recollect the confidential dispatch of their founder (now a fugitive for High Treason) to his friends in Belfast? That founder is now a resident in Paris, and if I have been rightly informed, was an Adjutant-General in Hoche's army, and had also a commission in the late Dutch armament so happily defeated.

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In that confidential dispatch, the Noble Earl will find it avowed, that the design of this association was to effect a separation from England, and that they have always hoped, by French assistance, to carry that purpose into effect.

It was long a subject of lamentation with me, that this pestilent nest of conspirators was suffered to continue in the metropolis, and notwithstanding my repeated remonstrances upon the subject, their sittings had continued nearly three years before the Magistrates were suffered to disperse them. By that society it was proposed to array a corps of National Guards after the French manner; that corps to be distinguished by ensigns of disaffection—by the Irish Harp separated from the Crown. This corps was to have paraded publicly, in order to encourage others to join, and by the aid of numbers to forward the plan of separation. Government saw the danger when it became immediate, and by a timely exertion of authority put a stop to the attempt.

In the report which I have read to your Lordships, you will find it stated by an Officer of the army, that no art was left untried to seduce the soldiery; that he was himself applied to, to accept a commission in the revolutionary army, so long ago as the year 1792, and this is not the deposition of Mr. Newel, or Mr. Bird, or any other person of that description, but of a gentleman of rank, honour, respectability, and worth; a gentleman of unstained credit and loyalty, who now holds the commission of Colonel in his Majesty's army. To this gentleman the proposal was made, and it was added that they had money enough; that they had arms and men, but that they wanted officers of experience to discipline them.

In the further progress of their design, they contrived to detach the Catholics of this country from the Committee,

tee of their own Gentry and Nobility, by whom they had been before directed. Noble Lords will remember the invective and calumny which they contrived to throw upon the late Lord Kenmare, because he dared to recommend to the Catholics a loyal and peaceable conduct in the solicitation of their claims.

Having detached the Catholics from their own aristocracy, their affairs were put under the controul of an Executive Committee, some of whose members are, I believe, at this moment of the Executive Directory of the Irish Union, and connected with their brethren in France.

The better and more cheaply to furnish themselves with arms, they set the Catholics upon the scheme of robbing the Protestants of their arms; it appears from indubitable evidence that they held correspondence through their Secretary, with respect to men who were to be tried in the North for breaking open houses and taking arms; that their Secretary was active in soliciting to have those persons bailed, and was himself the person who employed agents to defend them upon their trials. All that I have thus stated to your Lordships passed long before any one of the laws of which those persons affect to complain, and to which the Noble Earl seems to attribute their excesses, long before I say Parliament had found it absolutely necessary to pass these laws.

A law was passed in the Session of 1793, founded upon the circumstances which I have mentioned, and prohibiting any importation or removal of arms or gunpowder without a license from Government: this law was founded upon the very report which has been read: the Committee which made that report was moved for by a Noble Earl * not at all connected with Government, and without any com-

* Earl Farnham.

munication with them. The Noble Earl who has made this motion, was then absent from this country, but if he had been present, the circumstances of necessity would have struck him as forcibly as they did the Noble Earl who called for that enquiry, of which the report is the result.

In the same session, an act was passed prohibiting the contraband trade of Parliaments. The cause of this law was equally imperative with the former: a Catholic Committee had sat in the City of Dublin, and published as its debates, the most inflammatory speeches that I have ever heard or read; and the Irish Union had projected, and openly declared, that a Convention should meet in Athlone, chosen as the French Convention was, by Primary Assemblies electing delegates, who were in their turn to elect the members of this Convention. By this mode of election they were to establish a prompt and immediate connection and intercourse between every factious man, in every turbulent parish in Ireland, and the grand Convention in Athlone, which was to have met in September, 1793. Parliament, however, saw the danger, and did by the Convention Bill declare the law upon this subject—I say declare, for I do contend that such an assembly was illegal by the law of England. So that these two laws, so far from having been the cause of this conspiracy which is now operating in the country, arose from the incontrovertible proof of its existence and acts, previous to their having been enacted.

The labours of the Union were not, however, interrupted: though they did not dare so openly to attack the Constitution, they toiled in secret, and your Lordships too well recollect what a scene of murder and robbery, for two or three years, disgraced those counties into which the
Irish

Irish Union had found its way; no loyal peaceful man could sit securely by his fire-side; the first salute or notice which he received of the attack upon his house, was usually a volley of musquetry about his ears, fired in through his windows; and if this failed of driving him out of his house, it was usual to set the house on fire, that he might be forced out for assassination.

In the year 1796, an act was found necessary to restrain these outrages, and one was passed by the late Parliament, by which Government was enabled, if the majority of the Magistrates of a county should require it, to declare any district represented by them as in a state of disturbance, out of the King's peace, and to establish in such district a sort of Military Government. By that law, the taking of unlawful oaths was made a transportable felony, and the tendering of them a capital crime: for the means by which the Union has acted, and still acts, was and is by means of an oath to keep secrecy, and obey the commands of their leaders. This law, although passed early in 1796, was not exercised for a considerable time; it was first put in force in the county of Armagh.

In that county religious feuds had many years ago arisen; the Dissenters, under the name of "Peep of Day Boys," had most certainly been the aggressors, and had disarmed the Catholics of that county, who, in their turn, assumed the name of "Defenders," and many outrages had been committed by both parties; but this had been all ended, and a final stop had been put to their dissention until the years 1792, and 1793, when the Catholics were, by the contrivances of the Union, hallooed at the Protestants to rob them of their arms; the Protestants in their turn did certainly commit acts of retaliation, and being the strongest party, did drive some of their antagonists

gonists from the county; and I lament their conduct as much as the noble Earl himself can do. His Majesty's Ministers thought as I do; and I have now in my hand an official letter from the Lord Lieutenant to the Governor of that county, enjoining him to exert his authority and power, without regard to either party, in keeping the peace of his county. This letter was read at a meeting of the Armagh Magistrates, who were so well convinced of the sincerity of Government, that they returned the Lord Lieutenant their unanimous thanks for his conduct, in a resolution moved by Sir Capel Molineaux. The Lord Lieutenant also, sent Colonel Cradock into that Country, with the same directions, and under his influence, the country would have soon returned to a state of tranquillity, had not unfortunately a general election approached; the magistrates of the county, for election purposes, ranged themselves under the different parties of Orange-men and Defenders; and I did then, and do now declare, that if I could have procured a sufficient number of gentlemen of that country to execute the office of magistrate, who had not taken one part or the other, I would have issued a new commission of the peace for the county of Armagh, omitting every one of the present magistrates; but unfortunately, I could not procure them. It has been stated that the noble Earl had declared in another country, that more than ninety Catholic families had been driven off his estate by the violence of the Orange-men, and that this was part of the system upon which the Government of this country acted towards the people; how justly this charge has been made, will appear from what I have stated to your Lordships, and I do aver, that every word I have stated upon the subject is perfectly true, without exaggeration on one side or the other.

While

While Government thus laboured to preserve peace, the Irish Union continued to propagate their pestilential associations, and I will state to your Lordships what the constitution of those associations is, and ask you and the noble Earl if it be possible for any regular Government, by the ordinary means of ordinary laws, to counteract their projects.

The lower or primary societies, consisting of those who are in the lower class of society, are formed into clubs of not more than thirty each; when they amount to that number they divide into new societies, which, in their cant, are organized, and provided with the necessary officers. When the number of these societies in a barony becomes sufficient for the purpose, a society is elected from amongst them to preside over the affairs of the barony, and communicate between the primary societies and their superiors. From the baronial committees, when amounting to a sufficient number, are formed county committees, which in the same manner produce provincial committees, immediately connected with their executive directory, and immediately with the lowest societies of the UNION. By this sort of system, the executive directory of the Union govern its operations with more vigour than even the ability of the noble Earl could diffuse through the most regular army he ever had under his command. The communications are made through their respective secretaries, either verbally or by detached papers, which, when they are fully understood, are so immediately cancelled, that it is wonderful that so many of them should have been discovered. In this way the commands of the Executive Directory are communicated through the provincial, county, and baronial secretaries, to the lowest ranks of this pestilent UNION. When there is such an invisible power, operating by invisible means ;

means; how is a regular Government to oppose, by the slow formalities of municipal law, the promptness of such an enemy; a promptness which no Government has hitherto been found to attain.

The noble Earl speaks of conciliation; whom are we to conciliate? is it the Revolutionary Government, the Executive Directory of Ireland, which holds as regular a correspondence with France, as my Lord Camden does with his Majesty's Ministers: I will tell the noble Earl, that they are not to be conciliated; that they would no more treat with the noble Earl, than they would with me; that they consider themselves as secure of French aid, and of the support of the lower orders, whom they have seduced by the hope of plunder, and the promise of an Agrarian distribution of the land. Does the noble Earl know to what frenzy this Union has carried the greater part of the lower order; that they have taken an oath of secrecy, which to violate is certain death; that they are bound to obey the orders of their governors, even to the assassination of their dearest friend or most beloved companion; that by their unrelenting barbarity they have spread universal horror and dismay through the country; that every witness who has dared to appear against them, has been written down in the *book of death*; that magistrates have been murdered; that even in the Courts of Justice, jurymen have been threatened with the fate of those witnesses and magistrates, and desired to look to them as to their own lot, should they dare to punish a member of the UNION.

In the course of the last summer, a circular hand-bill was published and sent through the North of Ireland, cautioning jurors, that they should not dare to convict a *brother*; and the general sentiment promulged by their Committee is, that no crime committed to forward the

objects of the Union is blameable; nay, that every such act is pardonable in the eyes of God and man.

I hold in my hand a paper, which will prove a curious similitude to another mystic Union mentioned by the noble Baron (Lord Glentworth) in another country; Professor Robison has described and developed the German Union; this paper will afford a tolerable conception of the Irish Association.—

“ It is proposed that at this conjuncture a Society shall be instituted in this city, having much of the secrecy, and somewhat of the ceremonial attached to Free Masonry—with so much secrecy as may communicate curiosity, uncertainty and expectation to the minds of surrounding men;—with so much impressive and affecting ceremony in all its internal œconomy, as, without impeding real business, may strike the soul through the senses, and addressing the whole man, may animate his philosophy by the energy of his passions.

“ Secrecy is expedient and necessary; it will make the bond of union more cohesive, and the spirit of this union more ardent and more condensed; it will envelope this dense flame with a cloud of gloomy ambiguity, that will not only facilitate its own agency, but will at the same time confound and terrify its enemies by their ignorance of the design, the extent, the direction, or the consequences. It will throw a veil over those individuals whose professional prudence might make them wish to lye concealed, until a manifestation of themselves become absolutely necessary. And, lastly, secrecy is necessary, because it is by no means certain that a country, so great a stranger to itself as Ireland, where the North and the South, and the East and West, meet to wonder at each other, is yet prepared for the adoption of one profession of Political Faith, while there may be individuals from each of these quarters ready

adopt such a profession, and to propagate it with their best abilities, when necessary—with their blood.

* * * * *

“ Let every member wear, day and night, an amulet round his neck, containing the great principle which unites the brotherhood in letters of gold on a ribbon, striped with all the original colours, and inclosed in a sheath of white silk, to represent the pure union of the mingled rays, and the abolition of all superficial distinctions, all colours and shades of difference, for the sake of one illustrious end. Let this amulet of union, faith and honour depend from the neck, and be bound about the body next to the skin and close to the heart.

“ This is enthusiasm.—It is so; and who that has a spark of Hibernicism in his nature, would not feel it kindle into a flame of generous enthusiasm? Who, that has a drop of sympathy in his heart, when he looks around him, and sees how happiness is heaped up in mounds, and how misery it diffused and divided among the million, does not exclaim, *Alas!* for the suffering, and *Oh!* for the power to redress it? And who is there that has enthusiasm sufficient to make an exclamation, would not combine with others as honest as himself, to make the will live in the act, and to swear—**WE WILL REDRESS IT**—Who is there? Who?

“ The first business of the Brotherhood will be to form a transcript, or digest, of the doctrine which they mean to subscribe, to uphold, to propagate, and reduce to practice. It is time for Ireland to look her fortune in the face, not with turbulent ostentation, but with fixed resolution to live and die Freemen.—Let then those questions be agitated and answered fully and fairly which have been wilfully concealed from us by interested persons and parties, and which appear terrible only by being kept in the dark.

Always armed with this principle, that it is the duty of the People to establish their rights, this Society will carry it along with them in their course, as the Sybil did the branch of gold, to avert or to disperse, every vain fear, and every unreal terror.

* * * * *

" Is the Independence of Ireland nominal or real, a barren right, or a fact regulative of national conduct and influencing national character?

" Has it had any other effect than raising the value of a house, and making it more self-sufficient, at the expence of the People?

" Is there any middle state between the extremes of union with Britain and total separation, in which the rights of the People can be fully established and rest in security?

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" By the BROTHERHOOD are these questions, and such as these, to be determined. On this determination are they to form the chart of their constitution, which with honour and good faith they are to subscribe, and which is to regulate their course.—Let the Society at large meet four times in the year, and an acting Committee once a month, to which all members shall be invited. Let these meetings be convivial, but not the transitory patriotism of deep potation; confidential, the heart open and the door locked; conversational, not a debating society. There is too much barranguing in this country already; a great redundance of sound."

*If the principles of a school may be fairly gathered from the sentiments of their teacher, we have the design of the UNION in the sentiments of Mr. Tone, their founder, avowed again and again; his confidential dispatch to the northern society has avowed it to be, separation from
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England, and the establishment of an Irish Republic connected with France. To accomplish this laudable purpose have witnesses, magistrates, and jurors been murdered, the rabble armed, pikes made and distributed, barbarities committed, at which even France might blush, and the King's soldiers attempted to be corrupted to desert their colours and rob their Sovereign; public justice has been eluded, insulted and trampled upon, and a power established paramount to the law. I regret most exceedingly that the noble Earl does not reside in this country, and form his opinions from his own observations, for if he did, I would most willingly rest the determination upon his acknowledged honour and integrity.

Has the noble Earl heard of the fate of Dr. Hamilton, a clergymen of the established church, who was obliged for several months to have his house in the North of Ireland garrisoned against these insurgents; has he heard that this clergyman, a man of amiable manners, and exemplary humanity, having been unhappily delayed at a ferry which lay in his way home, and having gone to the neighbouring house of an old college friend, Dr. Waller, was way-laid and marked for murder by these barbarians; that while he sat round the fire with his host, a volley of musquetry was fired into the windows, which laid Mrs. Waller dead at her husband's feet; that the terrified servants were, for self-preservation, forced to give up their unhappy guest to the fury of the brotherhood; and that this excellent gentleman was mangled and slaughtered, with circumstances of cruelty too horrible even for Indian savages to hear; and yet these are men to be conciliated by fair words and soothing promises; these are the injured innocents whose fine feelings are tempered to conciliation. Has the noble Earl heard of the murder of Dr. Knipe, within twenty miles of this city? Has he heard of Mr. Comyn, butchered

within a few miles of his own seat at Ballinahinch, for the crime of having enrolled himself for the defence of his country, and having dared to accept a commission under his King? Has he heard of Mr. Butler's assassination, another Protestant clergyman murdered by the UNION? Has he read the dark and bloody catalogue of murder, which is a disgrace to this country; and will he contend that, while an invisible power of darkness is dealing destruction round the country, Government is to rest on its arms, and temporise with treason until the massacre is completed? Was Lord Camden, when it was represented to him that the Gentlemen of the country were so overpowered by treason, that they must either submit to assassination, or join this pestilent UNION? was he then to delay exerting the authorities of the State, or was he not bound to act as he did—to issue his direction for disarming the adherents of rebellion? Does the noble Earl know what the situation of this country was and is? If he does not, I will give him some materials to form his opinion.—Mr. Conolly, who spends a large fortune in this country; who at his house of Castletown lives in a state of hospitality by which hundreds are supported, discovered in the last Summer a conspiracy within the walls of his own house, to murder him and his truly amiable lady; a lady whose whole life has been devoted to the service of her fellow creatures, whose humanity and charity have been incessant in their activity, who was the mother, the patroness, the benefactress of the whole country around her, whose virtues are as far above praise as they are universal in their exercise, yet even she was to fall before the fury of the Union; her husband, who had toiled through a long and honourable life for the advantage of his country, was to be murdered along with her, and their house delivered up to a band of ruffians. This was to be done by the very wretches who
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lived upon their bounty, who were so abandoned to the purposes of the Union, as not to scruple even the murder of their friend and their benefactors. I myself was at Castletown soon after; I found that hospitable mansion in a state of regular fortification; after sun-set the doors all barred and chained, and a *chevaux de frise* planted round them, and a regular guard of soldiers mounted in the house—and yet with all this precaution, Lady Louisa assured me that she was afraid to suffer me or any one else to sleep in an apartment on the lower story. Does the noble Earl suppose that the gentlemen of Ireland would tamely lie down, and hold out their necks to the knife of the assassins, and give up their families, their property, their country, without an effort for their preservation?

What would he have said to a Government which saw rebels arm themselves by the plunder of the loyal, and allowed them to wait for foreign aid, without making at least an attempt to disarm them? Should Government have looked on while they massacred the loyal with the same arms of which they robbed them, and not make an effort to deprive them of the means of mischief? They did give orders to disarm the rebels. Is there a man in this House who will say that order was not legal? No man will say so; the army was necessarily employed for this purpose; the noble Earl says he acquits the army of any intentional act of impropriety; but if I were a military man I should thank him little for his acquittal. He says they acted under their orders; does he mean to insinuate that there was an immediate communication of private orders between Government and the subaltern officers who were entrusted with the different parts of this duty? That a sort of whispering connection subsisted between ministers and the private soldiers? And that General Lake suffered the Lord Lieutenant to pass him over
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and issue his orders to subalterns, and yet continued in his command.

The noble Lord might have easily arrived at the facts; he might easily have called for a copy of the orders issued to General Lake by command of the Lord Lieutenant. I have these orders in my hand, and by hearing them your Lordships will judge of the grounds upon which the British Cabinet has been accused, of setting up a system of oppression and inquisition in this country.—Here his Lordship read a copy of the instructions given to General Lake, dated the 3d of March 1797, nearly to the following effect :

SIR,

“ I am directed by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, that in consequence of information given to Government, additional measures are deemed necessary in your district, including the counties of Antrim, Tyrone, Down, and Londonderry. It has been represented that secret associations have increased in those counties to an alarming degree; keeping down the loyal inhabitants by the terror of their numbers; that they assemble by night in great bodies to disarm the peaceable inhabitants of those counties; that they have fired at magistrates in the execution of their duty; that they threaten the persons of those who dare to oppose their practices; that in their nocturnal excursions they collect arms; that they have cut down woods to make themselves pike-shafts; that they have stolen lead to make bullets; that they have endeavoured to intimidate the inhabitants from enrolling in the yeomanry; and that those amongst them who are merchants or manufacturers, have refused to employ or to purchase from, those who are yeomen; that they have attacked houses and murdered their inhabitants, particularly Mr,
Comyn

Comyn of Newtownards, for having joined an yeomanry corps, and that they carry on this system in expectation of a landing of the enemy in this country. In order to prevent these practices, and to prevent the power of giving assistance to an enemy, you are to dispose of the military force under your command, as to disarm all persons within your district who are not arrayed in his Majesty's service; and, in order to carry this order into effect, his Excellency gives you full authority to give such discretionary orders as your own prudence shall dictate; that the disaffected may be deprived of the means of offence, and the peaceable be protected in their lives and properties. You are to disperse all persons assembled in numbers, whether in arms or otherwise, without waiting for the civil authority, as the peace of the country might be endangered by waiting for such authority. You are to act with the utmost caution to prevent communications between the disaffected, and you are for that purpose to establish patrols on all the roads in the country, &c. &c.

These are the instructions from his Excellency to General Lake; and I call upon the dispassionate and candid feelings of the noble Earl himself to say, whether he was justified by the fact, in stating Government to have acted upon a system of goading the people into insurrection, in charging them with introducing the horrid practices of the inquisition, or the feudal tyranny of the *corfeu*—a word which he knew sounded most hatefully in an English ear—word which he knew every Englishman learned to detest, in the very first rudiments of his own history.

In consequence of these orders General Lake did exert himself with effect to disarm the rebels in the counties of Down, Antrim, Londonderry, and Tyrone; and amongst
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the rest, the Noble Earl's own town of Ballinahinch; and I am well satisfied, that this very town, next after Belfast, is one of the rankest citadels of treason in the kingdom of Ireland.

The Noble Lord has told your Lordships that he assembled the inhabitants of that town: that he did (and no doubt have I but he did most earnestly) set before them the mischiefs of republicanism, the virtues of his Sovereign, and the many excellent qualities of the heir apparent; he has told you that he read their loyalty in their eyes, and that it was expressed without a possibility of deception in their countenances. I shall use a legal phrase known to many of their Lordships, and suppose, that this loyalty excited by the virtues of the heir apparent, is in *abeyance* during the life of his present Majesty; but let that Noble Lord read in the trials of the Monaghan soldiers, which he may find at the War Office, the disloyalty of that town, he will find that those unfortunate men were first seduced and sworn by one of the Noble Earl's own tenants, in that town of Ballinahinch; that as an inducement to them to desert their colours and steal their arms, commissions were given them in that town of Ballinahinch, for the Revolutionary Army; he will find that this charge was not proved by inconsistent or wavering witnesses, but were the solemn confessions of the unhappy men at the moment of their execution. That very town of Ballinahinch was directed by General Lake to give up its arms; they refused, and it was not until they were threatened with a military force that they did give them up, and, amongst other things, no inconsiderable quantity of pikes—are pikes arguments for Reform—are pikes the emblems of loyalty to the heir apparent. Need I remind the Noble Earl, that his own groom and gardener, in that very town, acknowledged themselves Members of the Union;

Union; that they admitted, that pike handles had been concealed in his timber-yard, which the delicacy of Gen. Lake forbade his searching without notice to his Lordship; and that his Lordship's Agent, on searching the place afterwards, admitted that he found some traces of their having been there concealed. And it was the most natural place for disaffected persons to have concealed their arms when a search was apprehended, as the house of a Nobleman of his name and character would probably be the most secure place possible against a search for the arms of rebellion.—The Noble Earl has said, that the town of Ballinahinch was accused only on the proof of Morgan; I have shewn that there was melancholy and fatal proof of its disloyalty; but what was the fate of Morgan—he was sent to Downpatrick for security—unluckily, he ventured to quit that town, and he was murdered by a party who came on horseback; and it was ascertained, that a party of men on horseback, had about the very same period left the town of Ballinahinch. Within these two months the people of that town have made two centinels drunk, and then stole from them upwards of 100 rounds of ball-cartridge: and this is the loyal town of Ballinahinch. I state these circumstances, that the Noble Earl may know the kind of persons amongst whom he lives; for if he be not very fortunate, indeed, he may meet the same fate at Ballinahinch, which was intended for Mr. Conolly at Celbridge.

The Noble Earl stated, that the first act of outrage flowing from the system adopted by Government, was the destruction of a printing press at Belfast. This he has directly charged upon Government, but has completely acquitted General Lake. From the statement made by him, one would suppose that a British Regiment had marched to attack that press, with drums and colours, under orders of Government. What is the fact? Four soldiers of the
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Monaghan regiment of Militia, having been seduced at Ballinahinch, were condemned by a Court Martial; they were executed confessing their crime; their fellow-foldiers, in shame and repentance, entered into an engagement to abstain from such practices, and to give up any traitor who should come amongst them; two or three of them carried this engagement to the office of the Northern Star for insertion; they were told that they were pack of scurvy fellows, and that their advertisement should not be published. Irritated at this answer, smarting under the recent punishment of their comrades, and ascribing, not unnaturally, the execution of their fellow-foldiers to the baneful influence of that paper; they reported it to some of their comrades, whom they met off duty; they did most certainly attack the office, and do a great deal of mischief, but Col. Leslie coming amongst them, prevailed on them to disperse before they had proceeded far. Then, indeed, a number of other foldiers, and the yeomanry of the town, did complete the work, and utterly demolish all the materials of the newspaper. Now could the Noble Earl attribute this conduct of a few irritated and disorderly foldiers to the system adopted by Government?

The next story is that of a light found in an house at night by a patrole, and put out by the foldiers, notwithstanding a child lay in convulsions in the house, and the parent entreated that the light might be allowed to remain in. In one instance, upon which this story may have been founded, the surgeon of the regiment was the officer of the patrole, and far from using any harshness or severity, suffered the light to remain, lent assistance himself to the sick infant, and returned the next day to visit its parents with money and medicine. In another case, a man near Downpatrick had a light in his house; the patrole found it, and one of the foldiers put it out with a stone; the man, far from

from feeling it as an oppression, came in the next day to Downpatrick to say that he was sorry it had happened, for that he knew if he had asked leave, he would have been allowed to keep it burning ; and I have it from indubitable authority, that the Noble Earl's land-steward did, within this week, endeavour to prevail upon that man to give evidence of the fact, and that the man refused, even under the threat of being forced to your Lordship's bar for that purpose.

The next story is that of a blacksmith who was picketed. What was the case ? Information was given against that man that he had manufactured a large quantity of pikes, and when a party was sent to search for those pikes, he denied any knowledge whatever of them. The soldiers, by way of terrifying him into confession, did certainly put a rope about his neck, and threaten him with hanging ; but they proceeded no farther ; he was taken to Downpatrick, and there by a Colonel of Fencibles, who is since dead, he was put upon the picket. He gave information then, and not till then, of the pikes, and more than one hundred of them were seized the next day in consequence.

It might be a serious question, whether the number of murders prevented by this seizure of pikes did not much over-balance the sufferings of the blacksmith ? If rebellion is to be met by the slow operation of the law, there would soon be no law at all. I put it to the Noble Earl's own heart, is there not a rebellion of a most desperate nature in this country, with the object which I have stated ? A rebellion of the most dangerous nature, as it assumes no visible shape or form in which to be combated.

In the year 1782, in America, then in a state of rebellion, Colonel Isaac Haynes, an officer of the American army,

army, was taken by a patrol, and being merely identified as a person who had taken the oath of allegiance, was for endeavouring to corrupt the troops by terrifying the timid and seducing the weak, hanged without further ceremony; and what was the defence made for this act? That during an actual rebellion, to wait for the forms of law, was to yield to the rebels.

What is the accusation against Lord Camden? That during a rebellion in this country, the rebels having endeavoured to corrupt the King's troops, to seduce the weak, and terrify the timid, having manufactured pikes, stolen arms, murdered magistrates, and affrighted the country, avowing their design of waiting for foreign aid to overthrow the constitution, and renounce all allegiance; that these persons were, by the order of Lord Camden, disarmed and deprived of the power of offending against the laws and peace of the country, that he might be saved the painful necessity of hanging them, like Colonel Haynes, without any form of trial. I am confident that the Noble Earl who acted thus to the American Colonel, held it a painful but indispensable part of his duty; but let me remind him that this act, which had nearly cost the life of an amiable and gallant officer, now in this country (Sir Charles Asgill) is a strong comment upon the necessity which has unhappily prevailed in Ireland.

The Noble Earl has mentioned the name of Newell; it is worth while to recollect who the man was; he had been a miniature painter, and belonged to the Irish Union. He went to paint for a gentleman of well known loyalty in the country, and fell sick; during that time, of course, he discontinued his attendance at their meetings, and being supposed to have informed against the Brotherhood, was marked down in the book of death. On his return to Belfast, he was attacked by a number of persons of the fraternity

fraternity in a dark night, and nearly assassinated; he saw his danger, and finding himself proscribed, did certainly give evidence of material consequence to Government. The Noble Lord says he has seen his confession: has he seen the confession of the man who bribed him, and the other witness, Bird, at an expence of 400l. to withhold their evidence. But if the Noble Earl does not believe Newell, must he not believe the papers found in the committee rooms to which Newell had directed the officer, and round which papers the committee was found sitting. If he will take the trouble to examine those papers, he will find in them a system of treason of which he can have little conception. On the report of the committee to whom those papers were referred, the Parliament addressed the Lord Lieutenant to make use of the powers which the Constitution had put into his hands to suppress rebellion. Will the noble Earl come forward and tell the Parliament that they are dupes and fools, and have been imposed upon by the shallow artifice of Mr. Newell. I appeal to the noble Earl, does he think from his seat of Donnington, in Leicestershire, he can judge better of the state of this country than we who are chained here to face the insolence of rebellion? Are pikes and revolutionary armies, fair and constitutional principles of Government?

The noble Earl talks of conciliation. With whom? with the Executive Directory of the Union. Does he know their names? if he does, he will confer a singular favour on Government by disclosing them. I know the honourable and liberal mind of the noble Earl has been imposed upon. Would he have his Majesty's Government ask in a tone of supplication, "Gentlemen, on what terms will you give us peace?" Would the noble Earl himself degrade his character so far as to ask it? If he did,

did, I know they would not treat with him; they would as soon treat with me; but if they treated at all, they would follow the example of their brethren in France; they would say, "lay down your arms, repeal your test laws, submit to our mercy—and then we will tell you what more we would have!!"

In consequence of General Lake's proclamation and subsequent conduct, the country was fast returning to peace and comfort. Industry began to re-appear, and manufactures to flourish; until the noble Earl made his unfortunate speech in the British Parliament, and avowed his design of coming to this country. As soon as this was announced, the broken spirits of the Union revived---an association was formed for the collection of grievances---a call was published to all manner of persons to bring in accounts of outrage.---"Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, and disburthen your grievances to us." This was the signal for new disturbances, and has unhappily been too successful.

The noble Earl had by his speech fully acquitted General Lake and his officers of any imputation! but he had done so in order to throw his whole weight of accusation upon the Government; by way of explanation of the conduct of that Government, permit me, my Lords, to read the instructions issued to the Commander in Chief for carrying into effect the proclamation of the 17th of May.

[Here his Lordship read the instructions, the chief points of which were: That the loyal inhabitants and those who testified their penitence by taking advantage of the proclamation should be protected; that traitors should be disarmed---that persons found armed with pikes should be considered as rebels and treated as such---that all considerable bodies of men assembled should be dispersed---that

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as attempts had been made to seduce the King's troops, the utmost care should be taken to prevent communication; and that as the peace might be endangered by delay, the army should act without waiting for the civil magistrate.]

It is necessary, my Lords, to explain to the noble Earl the cause of one part of these instructions. In the month of May last upwards of 4,000 men paraded in rank and file, and marched through this city in the face of day upon the Sabbath, under pretence of attending a funeral, in as regular order and discipline as any army the noble Earl ever commanded. The object of the Union by this measure was to make a display of their strength, to prove their regularity, discipline, and number of their force, to awe the timid, and seduce the wavering. The loyalty and alacrity of the yeomen and army did indeed prevent their doing more than make this very insolent display in all the principal streets in the capital.

In consequence of the order for seizing arms, within a month after it was issued not less than 4,000 *pikes*, between 4 and 5,000 *musquets*, 2 *pieces of cannon*, and an *howitzer* were seized within General Lake's district, and sent into his Majesty's ordnance stores; a noble Lord, who now sits near me, himself seized the *cannon*. Does the noble Earl say that *cannon* are kept for shooting snipes; are pikes constitutional arguments for repealing the Test Act; for Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. Are pikes, and cannon, and howitzers to be left in the possession of such men? These very *pikes*, and *cannon*, and *howitzers* were, by the returns of the *Union*, found at Belfast, discovered to be the principal part of their effective force. I will tell the noble Earl that if he had met only Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform to oppose him in America, he might have soon put an end to the rebellion, and marched unmolested from one

end to the other of that continent; but in pikes, cannon and howitzers, he found much more formidable antagonists.

About the time of issuing this order, a report was with no small industry circulated, of a probable change of Administration. Letters were sent to the leaders of the Union to state that now was the moment for Ireland to come forward in support of the expected change. This motion had nearly thrown the North back into uproar—a requisition was signed to the sheriff of the county of Down, desiring him to call an illegal meeting of *all the inhabitants* of that proclaimed and rebellious county, to discuss a petition to his Majesty for that purpose. To that requisition many names were signed; names which I never recollect to have seen signed to any meeting or subscription for depressing treason and protecting loyal subjects; and what will perhaps astonish your Lordships, many names of the very magistrates who had memorialled Government to proclaim the county out of the King's peace, were signed to this requisition for a tumultuous meeting of a disturbed district.

The magistrates very properly refused to permit an act so strangely illegal; but notwithstanding, a petition was framed and carried about the county for signatures; and if I am rightly informed a right reverend prelate, a protestant bishop, who has not since appeared in his place until this day, did first sign that absurd and illegal requisition, and did afterwards hawk that underhand petition round the county to procure signatures to a paper which was to lay a positive falsehood at his Majesty's feet.

In that petition it is asserted, that in consequence of the war, the manufactures of Ireland had been destroyed; that by a war which had laid waste the German empire, the demand for Irish linen had been diminished, and this absurd

fund imposition was laid before the throne under the authority of a Protestant bishop.

I will state the fact for your Lordships to judge by: The average of linen exported for four years immediately preceding the war was, NINE millions four hundred thousand pounds in value; the average for the first four years of the war was, ELEVEN millions two hundred thousand pounds; so that the country which we were told was ruined in its manufactures by the war, had absolutely gained TWO millions upon the average: In the year 1796, THREE millions were exported, a greater export than had ever been known since the manufacture was first established; but what, my Lords, was the secret of this mistake but simply this; the party in England had made the same complaint, and it was necessary for their friends in Ireland to follow them right or wrong: In the year 1797 (greater part of which has passed since the petition) there was a great decrease, indeed, of this manufacture; but did the petitioners state the true reason? Did they state that the northern weavers had given up the shuttle for the pike? that they had abandoned their sober habits of industry and religion, for midnight outrage and traitorous associations? that they had degenerated from manufacturers into murderers? did they state that by these means the manufactures, the comforts, and the tranquility of the country were destroyed? if they had stated this, they would have told the truth.

It has been said, that the trade of Belfast has been reduced to one fifteenth; I hold in my hand, my Lords, a return of the customs of Belfast; and I find, that the difference between 92,000*l.* and 85,000*l.* is the only defalcation in the trade of that town—a defalcation of 7,000*l.* Did they mean to say, my Lords, that the trade of the kingdom at large, has been ruined by the war: how is this proved? is it because the increase of your exports over your imports has left a balance in your favour of 600,000*l.*?

Is it because the tonnage of this ruined country has increased within the last four years in the quantity of 17,872 tons of shipping? is this a proof that the country is groaning under the effects of the war, under an arbitrary and corrupt government, under the insolence of a wanton and uncontrouled soldiery? and yet his Majesty is gravely assured under the authority of a Protestant Bishop, that the trade of the country is diminishing; while the fact is, that no nation in Europe had, at that time, profited by the war but the kingdom of Ireland.

If the noble Earl is inclined to doubt; if any thing be wanting to convince him of the fact; let him look to the midland and southern counties, he will there find that the farmers had become opulent, that the condition of the peasantry, a thing my most anxious wishes hardly expected, had been considerably bettered, that the country was smiling with tillage and improvement to a degree beyond the hopes of the most sanguine speculator. It is, indeed, heart-breaking to any one that loves the country, to see the progress of that prosperity arrested by the malice of these pestilent traitors who have so laboured for the destruction of the country.

This diabolical Union had previously to the attempt of 1796 given France to understand, that the moment her fleet appeared upon our coasts, every man in the country would rise to welcome its approach; what was the fact? the moment their fleet did appear, there was a burst of loyalty through the South, which completely contradicted this assurance; it was a proud and happy circumstance for the country to see, that the people were sensible of the blessings they enjoyed, to see them engage in the toils of the military, and share their little comforts and their cabins with the soldiery as with their friends and protectors. When Mr. Tone returned to Paris, he was told, "You have deceiv-

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ed us; you told us, that when we appeared we should be received gladly; and when we did appear, the whole country rose to oppose us." He promised to remedy this mistake; his directions were conveyed to the UNION, and emissaries were immediately dispatched from the North and this city, in the phrase of the Union, to organize the South.

Does the noble Earl really imagine that the disturbances of the South have arisen from the abstract questions of Emancipation and Reform? I will be bold to say that if he were to talk on those subjects in the province of Munster, that there is not a peasant or farmer there who would understand him a jot more than if he recited the quotation from Cicero which he has given your Lordships this night; the people in the South were happy, they were growing into prosperity; that happiness and prosperity have been blasted by the pestilential influence of the UNION. The counties of Kerry and Limerick are alone free from the taint; they are still free; and will the noble Lord tell me that this perversion arose from the oppressions of Government? or that the *corfeu* has been revived in the province of Munster? Is he wild enough to imagine that it is the interest of Government to set the country into rebellion, in order to be the better prepared in its defence against foreign invasion? Or will he not be convinced from these proofs that the UNION having sufficiently organized the North, have been proceeding to destroy the South by their organization? It may be a relief to your Lordships from this melancholy recital to hear that the linen trade of the North is recovering the shock of the UNION, and that its prosperity, interrupted by disturbance, is recommencing with its tranquillity.

Has the noble Earl heard of another branch of the UNION system of a conspiracy, formed within a few weeks

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back with some of his Majesty's soldiers, to seduce other of the troops, to deliver up the fort of Athlone and its magazine to the rebels, or in case of failure to blow it up; and will he tell me that this is a mere trick of the Government of Ireland to justify its measures? Was Athlone disturbed by speculative grievances? Did reform or emancipation make it necessary to seize or destroy his Majesty's garrison?

The county of Kildare is now in as bad a situation as ever any part of Ulster was; yet a similar attempt to that of Down was made to obtain a mob meeting, and a petition for a change of ministers; a petition was indeed carried about, and I am well informed that the name of a lame mendicant, whom many of your Lordships have seen begging in an hollow of the road near Naas, was one of the first signatures to the petition, and that a noble peer passed a whole day collecting signatures in the little town of Leixlip, and lost near two hours of that day in urging a blacksmith, his apprentice, journeyman and labourer, to sign this petition for the dismissal of Ministers. It is hardly possible that the country should be otherwise than disturbed, when disturbance is encouraged by those paltry artifices in men of rank, who use those means to force one set of men, or another set of men, out of the Cabinet of Great Britain. In explanation of what I have said, will your Lordships permit me to read a late order of the Executive Directory of the UNION, and you will see by it how near we are to peace and conciliation:

“ United Irishmen, your numbers are now so much increased, that you may justly be called the people; but your organization must increase with your numbers, for without it, how can your strength be brought to act? Consider what a time this is; when France has, after
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overcoming all the powers of Europe, marched all her troops to her coasts for the Invasion of Great Britain and Ireland, to meet men arrayed in the cause of Liberty, and anxious to receive them. Great Britain falling into bankruptcy and ruin; this is the moment for you to exert yourselves, unite and organize, and, ere long, you must be free."

They are then forbid to attend any orders not regularly conveyed them through their representatives. This is dated the 1st of February, 1798, and I understand, from a noble Lord near me, that another copy of this order was found dropped in the streets of Athy.

Another order issued within a very few days, enjoins the Union to meet in bodies of not more than five or six, to wear no particular uniform, to wait in confidence for the time when they will receive assistance from the armies of France, and they must succeed.

Before I sit down, my Lords, allow me to advert to a new revolutionary engine of this Union which has been resorted to of late. When it was found that the protection afforded to the witnesses, magistrates and jurors, ensured and established the operation of the laws, a scheme was devised to debase the administration of justice. Every man concerned in that administration was held up as the most corrupt, tyrannical, and profligate of characters; the truth was perverted, the most scandalous misrepresentations made of the conduct of the courts, and the whole force of the Union was bent to propagate these falsehoods. That this was most flagrantly the case with respect to William Orr, executed for felony, I shall prove to your Lordships by a recital of the real circumstances. This man was indicted for endeavouring to seduce two soldiers of a regiment of Fencibles from their duty and allegiance; the names

names of the men were Wheatly and Lindsey; their names had been found in a list of the UNION seized upon a Committee in the act of sitting; the men were taken up—they confessed the crime, and each distinctly and separately charged Orr as the Secretary of the meeting at which they had been sworn; they named several of the persons present, not one of whom was brought to disprove them; and although a witness was brought to discredit Wheatly, the evidence he gave was of such an incredible nature, that the learned Judge did not think it necessary to take it down in the note-book; the other witness was never impeached, and Orr was found guilty by a jury, who at the same time, though repeatedly cautioned to reconsider their verdict, recommended him to mercy: a motion was afterwards made in arrest of judgement. An account of this trial was printed, and, to the disgrace of the profession to which I have the honour to belong, mutilated and garbled as it is, it is obviously produced under the inspection of a barrister; by that account of the motion in arrest of judgment, the country is given to understand, that Orr was tried under a statute which had expired, although there were several other counts in the indictment if it were possible to suppose that the Infurrection Act was not in force; the motion was over-ruled, and after it had been so disposed of, a counsel who wears the King's gown came into Court, and stated an affidavit that the jury was drunk; he was asked why he did so? he replied, that his object was to move for an attachment against the jury; but the real object of its introduction was to slander the administration of justice, and for no other purpose. The noble and learned judge, as was his duty, transmitted the recommendation of the jury to Government; he was asked if he concurred in that recommendation? He declared that he could not.

Affidavits

Affidavits were then made and transmitted to the Lord Lieutenant to impeach the conduct of the jury; but although this report contains an account of an affidavit discrediting the witness, it is most certain that no such affidavit was ever laid before the Lord Lieutenant. And here, my Lords, allow me to observe upon this practice of Magistrates taking affidavits of this kind; in my mind, there is no sort of right in a Magistrate to do so—no more than he has to sit and preside in the Court of Chancery—nor could any indictment for perjury be founded upon such an affidavit. Upon such grounds as these, the execution of this man has been held out as a murder; and at a drunken meeting at a Tavern in London, a Member of the English Parliament is said to have given as a toast the “Memory of William Orr basely murdered;” and it is also said, that another worthy gentleman, with equal zeal and delicacy, at the same meeting gave as his bumper toast—“May the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Cabinet be soon in the situation of William Orr.”

The object of all this, my Lords, is very plain: If the sources of public justice are thus poisoned, its Administration will soon become impracticable.

Another part of this system is apparent in the trial of one Finerty a printer, for a most infamous libel on the Lord Lieutenant. This trial has been published, I hope falsely and inaccurately; for under the guise of a speech from counsel, is contained an abominable libel on the administration of justice; for which the counsel who could dare to utter it, deserved the pillory infinitely more than Finerty his client: in it the Jury are told that they are a packed Jury. The Judge is informed, that the prisoner is not to expect a fair charge from him, and it is throughout assumed as an acknowledged truth that William Orr was murdered; and thus the wretched man who had entrusted

trusted his defence to this counsel, is consigned to the pillory by his own advocate, in order to indulge that advocate in the publication of a libel upon public justice, and put in effect the new engine of the Revolutionary Government; and yet these are the worthy Gentlemen who are to be conciliated by fair promises, by Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation.

Does the Noble Earl know that the only statute in this country (besides the test and supremacy acts) which affects Roman Catholics, as such, is one to make a certain proportion of property, a necessary qualification for the keeping of arms. I need not tell him of what fundamental importance the test and supremacy laws are to the Constitution; that they extend alike to all his Majesty's subjects, and how the country has flourished under their influence. Let me request that Noble Earl when he returns to England to rise in the English House to move for a repeal of the test and supremacy laws. I am afraid he will not comply, and I will tell him why he will not. He would be told, that for an attempt of the very same kind, James the II. was expelled the throne of England; he would be told, that he was about to condemn the principles of the Revolution, and to impeach the title of the House of Hanover.

And will any man say, that if it be right to repeal the test and supremacy laws, James the II. who was expelled for that attempt, was not worse used than any other prince that ever lived.

The memorable declaration of James the II. which hurled him from the throne, will furnish no very dissimilar model of the test of the Irish Union. In that declaration which your Lordships will find in Rapin's History, that monarch declared that he had brought in Papists to his Privy Council for the purposes of promoting a brotherhood of affection and a conciliation of religious differences; and

I ask

I ask your Lordships, if that declaration had never taken place, would the House of Hanover have now sat on the throne of these kingdoms.

Has the Noble Earl heard that the people of this country were told within a short period, not to postpone their claims until after the war—that they should greatly embrace and proudly emancipate—that Government would extinguish them or they must extinguish Government.—The House may indulge me in speaking feelingly upon this subject, since I had nearly fallen a victim to the doctrine, and had nearly been extinguished within a very few days after this famous exhortation.

How will the Noble Earl commence his plan of conciliation; will he say to the men who pledged their lives and fortunes for the settlement of 1782; you have broken your faith to the country, and yet you ought again to be relieved; you pledged yourselves against raising any causes of dissention, and yet you have toiled to create and imagine them; still, however, your pledge shall be received, and your security shall be valid. I beg the Noble Lord to disclose his panacea, his nostrum which is to conciliate such men, and ensure their fidelity; by which a Protestant Church is to stand against a Roman Catholic State; the British Constitution against a Republican Democracy.

No words are more abused than the words British Constitution; what are its principles? that the Church and State are united, and that he who attempts to separate them will shake the whole; and this was well known to the UNION; they saw that the Altar was a main pillar of the Throne; they devised the scheme of reviving religious disputes, and if they could succeed in exciting animosities, they saw that they would carry their purpose; another principle of the constitution is, that no man shall exercise any of the powers of the State, who shall not give a solemn

lemn proof of his allegiance to that constitution in Church and State, a precaution absolutely necessary to its conservation. I know that amongst the Catholics are many worthy, good, and loyal men; but I know that they are so because they have not political power; I know that it is impossible for a man to be a good Catholic without doing every thing to forward the interests of his Church; and I know that to that purpose he must employ the power which he might obtain in a Protestant State. Let me remind your Lordships, that this is no obsolete doctrine; that it is the basis of the present titular Bishop of Waterford's celebrated letter; that it is to be found in another letter, of another Bishop of their Church, as strongly recommended, though less incautiously expressed. I know that the moderate Catholics were displeased at the violence of Doctor Hussey; but I also know, it was his expression and not his doctrine of which they disapprove.

Does the noble Earl recollect, that the act of supremacy which stands in the way, is the same act which connects the spiritual power of the Church of Ireland to the crown of Great Britain? Will he venture to address his Majesty to repeal a law, which it is some question, whether the King could even assent to repeal? These are difficult constitutional questions, not to be decided by the arguments of pikes, and cannon, and howitzers; and, I trust, that your Lordships will estimate them as they deserve, and not hold out an example of yielding to the armed force of a rebellious rabble.

If it should be the noble Earl's lot to meet with any of the Directory of the Union, let him hold this language to them—withdraw your Agent from Paris, and your Ambassador from Lisle—lay down the arms of which you have plundered the loyal, and return to your habits of peace and industry—deserve the favour of Parliament, and you will
receive

receive it. The noble Earl may be surprized to hear, that during the late negotiations at Lisle, the Plenipotentiary of the Union was there also; that his name is perfectly well known to Government; I know it myself, and will tell the noble Earl when I sit down if he desires it; that this Plenipotentiary, who commenced his education in a seminary of Jesuits, and concluded it in an attorney's office, was employed in urging the French Ministers to the most exorbitant demands; and that if Great Britain had had the meanness to yield to the demands of France, as a preliminary, the next demand would have been, the separation of Ireland from the British Empire. Will the noble Lord undertake to have the Ambassador re-called? Will he undertake that Arthur O'Connor, the registered printer of "The Press," will cease to disseminate treason three times a week, if his motion be adopted.

I feel that I have already exhausted the patience of the House; I certainly have exhausted my own; but I will no longer detain your Lordships than to ask, if we give up our power, and submit to our enemies, and if the experiment should fail, what resource, what return will be left to us? And I beseech the noble Earl, when he sees the condition to which this country has been reduced by the artifices of party, that as he values the peace and happiness of Ireland he will, on his return to England, use his influence with the politicians of Great Britain, to entreat that they will cease to play the game of party politics in this unfortunate country. The Noble Earl does not know the people of Ireland so well as I do; he does not know that there is not so volatile or credulous a people on the earth; that they are ready to be dupes of any projector if he will only profess good will towards them; that they will not hesitate if any man comes with a book in one hand, and a declaration

declaration in the other, to take his test, provided it professes to be for their advantage. If he knew this, he would be less surprized at the melancholy influence which words and parties have with them, and he would be more anxious than he is to prevent the increase of so mischievous a practice.



THE END.

